

GERMANY MUST ATONE FOR HER WAR CRIMES

Continued From Page One

bringing on these calamities is essential to the score of justice and as a deterrent for others who may be tempted to follow their example.

The reply asserts the powers cannot entrust the trial of those responsible to those who have been their accomplices. The tribunal for the trial of those under charges will be the deliberative judgment of the great part of the civilized world, and there can be no question of admitting the right of jurisdiction of representatives of countries which took no part in the war. The Allies, it declared, will stand by the verdict of history for the impartiality and justice with which the accused will be tried. The accused will be insured full rights of defense and the judgment of the tribunal will have the most solemn judicial character. The allied and associated powers are prepared to submit a final list of those who must be handed over to justice within one month of the signing of the treaty.

Counter-Proposals Distorted

The allied and associated powers refuse to enter into a discussion over the principles underlying the reparations clauses, but certain observations are made, especially as the German proposals are said to "present a view so distorted and ineffectual as to raise a doubt if the clauses were calmly and carefully examined."

The problem of reparations is of such extraordinary magnitude and complexity that it can be solved only by a continuing body, limited in personnel and invested with broad powers. This reparation commission is to be composed of representatives, instructed to exercise its powers so as to insure, in the interest of all, as early and complete a discharge by Germany of her reparation obligations as is consistent with the true maintenance of the social, economic and financial structure of Germany.

It is pointed out that the commission is not an "engine of oppression" nor a device for interfering with Germany's sovereignty. Its business is to fix what is to be paid, satisfy itself that Germany can pay and report in case Germany does not pay. The commission cannot prescribe or enforce taxes or dictate the character of the German budget, but may examine the latter to see if any modification is desirable, probably in Germany's interests, and to be assured that German taxation is at least as heavy as the heaviest allied taxation.

It is pointed out that, not only are the conditions not compatible with the creation by Germany of a commission to represent her in dealing with the reparation commission and for such operation as may be necessary, but it is greatly to be desired that she will take exactly that step.

May Make New Proposal

The powers are willing that, within four months of the signature of the treaty, Germany may submit any proposals she may choose to make. In particular she may make a leapfrog proposal to her liability for labor, technical service or material for reconstruction or, in short, suggest any feasible plan to simplify the assessment of damage, eliminate any question from the scope of the inquiry, promote the performance of the work or accelerate the definition of the ultimate amount to be paid. Germany must, however, negotiate directly with the powers concerned before making the proposal, submit them in unambiguous form and respect the reparations clause as matter beyond dispute. No arguments or appeals directed to any alteration will be entertained.

Within two months thereafter the allied and associated powers will answer such proposals and agree to consider regionally and fairly any suggestions made. It is said the problem is largely one of statistics of which the powers have received only one side. Germany is invited to produce evidence which will accelerate final decision.

German Offer Misleading

The reply says that the Germans made no definite offer as to reparations, but "gave only vague expressions of willingness to do something." The sum of 100,000,000 marks (\$25,000,000,000) which was mentioned in the enemy counter-proposals, is said to give the impression of an extensive offer, which, upon examination, it proves not to be. Interest was not to be paid, and until 1928 there would be no substantial payment, after which there would be a series of undisturbed installments running over nearly half a century.

Declaring that the resumption of German industry is of interest to the Allies, as well as to Germany, the reply declares that commercial facilities will not be withheld from Germany, but they will afford to Germany facilities for food supplies, raw materials and overseas transport under conditions "which cannot be laid down in advance."

Treaty Must Be Signed

"Meanwhile, the treaty must be signed," the reply declares. "The burdens of Germany undoubtedly are heavy, but they are imposed under conditions of justice by peoples whose social well-being and economic prosperity have been gravely impaired by wrongs which it is beyond the utmost power of Germany to repair."

In the financial section of the reply, it is stipulated the reparation must be made prior to the settlement of all other German public debts, with such exceptions as the commission may suggest. Payment for food may also be a first charge, and gold may be expected on approval.

Germany must pay the expense of military occupation as an essential guarantee of peace and war material surrendered after the armistice cannot be credited against reparation. Liberated territories will bear their portion of the pre-war debt, but will not assume any part of the war debt itself.

Colonies Actually Freed

"After the events of the war," it is said, "the powers have the right to demand that Germany be no longer ultimately involved in their financial or economic life, or in that of Germany's former allies, or Russia. As the greater part of Germany's foreign securities must be liquidated, the protection of German holders will no longer justify German participation in international financial organization."

The right is reserved to demand of Germany also her credits in Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey.

In the discussion of the economic clauses the reply states that the principles enunciated by President Wilson embodied in the covenant of the League of Nations as to the equality of

trade conditions will be brought into effect when the world returns to normal, but in the meantime a transitory regime is essential to save certain allied states from a position of economic inferiority because of the damage done to their territories during the war. Reciprocity is impossible at present, and a general and indiscriminate reapplication of multilateral and bilateral treaties cannot be considered.

Consular relations are not reciprocally established owing to the war activities of German consuls. Private property of German abroad may be justly used to meet emergency charges. The property of German institutions for research and education, it is held, "cannot be immune in the light of their past activities."

The German proposals relative to aerial navigation have not been accepted.

Must Enforce Port Clauses

It is pointed out that German objections to the clauses pertaining to ports and waterways are too general to admit of a detailed reply. After outlining the objections made in the German counter-proposals the reply declares that until the transitory regime is passed and general conventions can be laid down it has appeared essential that the provisions of this section of the treaty must be enforced.

Provision is made for the extension of these provisions and for the ultimate grant of reciprocity, but only after five years, unless the league of nations decides to prolong the period. No attempt is made to prevent the legitimate use by Germany of her economic resources, but rather to secure freedom of transit for young, landlocked states. The commissions established by this section of the treaty will function not only over German territory, but over at least one allied country as well, it is said.

The two notes already sent in reply to the German notes relative to the labor clauses of the treaty are said to cover this subject. The treaty makes provision for the protection of labor in ceded territories, and a plan for referring all cases not reached by direct negotiation to impartial technical commissions is inserted in the convention.

In taking up the clauses referring to guarantees, the reply quotes an address by President Wilson in which he said:

"The reason why peace must be guaranteed is that one of the parties to that peace has signed the cost of his promises are not worthy of faith."

Military occupation by the Allies will continue as a guarantee for the execution of the treaty. There also will be constituted a civilian body called the interallied Rhineland high commission, consisting of four members, representing Belgium, France, Great Britain and the United States. It shall have executive powers and its members shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The civilian administration shall remain in the hands of the German authorities under German law, except where it may be necessary for the high commission to act. The Allies retain the right to requisition in kind and to demand services. Germany will be responsible for the expenses of the high commission as well as for those of military occupation.

Germany will undertake to place at the disposal of the Allied troops such military establishments and accommodations as may be required. The transport service and the telegraphic and postal personnel will obey orders given on behalf of the commander-in-chief of the allied armies for military purposes. The high commission will have the power, whenever it considers it necessary, to declare a state of siege in any part of all of the territory concerned.

The detailed reply follows exactly the scheme of the original conditions of peace, which was in turn followed by the Germans in their counter-proposals. It says that the German reply to the Allied statements have never expressed a desire for any other peace than one which would undo the wrongs of 1914, vindicate justice and international right and recognize the political foundations of Europe which would give liberty to all its peoples and therefore the prospect of a lasting peace.

The German claim of a contradiction between the terms of the treaty and President Wilson's promise of justice to the German people is met by a quotation demanding "the destruction of every arbitrary power everywhere that can secretly, secretly and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world."

If, similarly, it says, the Germans claim contradiction in territorial claims it must be borne in mind that this is not the result of any purpose to act unjustly toward Germany, but rather of the fact that an appreciable amount of German territory consisted of districts unjustly appropriated by her in the past.

Objections Answered

The economic objections are answered by the statement that Germany's economic condition is intact and in no wise crippled by a devastation like that brought upon the Allied people. The German contention that peoples have been battered about is declared to be similarly refuted, as every territory of settlement has been reached after most careful and labored consideration of racial, religious and linguistic factors and the legitimate hopes of peoples long under alien rule.

Germany's complaint that she has not been invited to join the league of nations, it says, cannot find justification in any of President Wilson's declarations, for he carefully laid down that such admission was possible only after Germany had proved her character.

With regard to the league of nations it is stated that the Allied and associated powers have never had the intention of definitely excluding Germany or any other power from membership and that every country whose government has proved its stability and its desire to observe international obligations will

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be supported in its demands for admission. It adds that in Germany's case the events of the last five years prove the need of a definite test, the length of which will depend on the acts of the German Government, especially toward the treaty.

The inclusion in the covenant of the German proposals regarding economic questions is considered unnecessary. The Allied and associated powers will guarantee protection, under the league of nations, to German institutions for research and education, and intend to open negotiations immediately for a general reduction of armaments, as provided in the covenant, and to carry out her engagements in this regard.

Political Clauses

Part three of the detailed reply deals with European political clauses. It says the territories of Eupen and Malmedy have continued in close relation with Belgium, despite a century of Prussianization, and that the reunion of these territories with Belgium seems justified, but that the German claim, however, the territory shall be immediately ceded to Poland, but a plebiscite shall be held in order to meet any further criticism. The liquidation of German property there is to be safeguarded and Germany will be allowed to purchase for a neutral price the coal, on the same terms as the Poles, for transferring to Poland are to be protected as to language, religion and education.

Heligoland—Provision is made for the protection of the interests of the people of Heligoland and of peaceful navigation and the fishing industry there, in accordance with Germany's demand. The harbor that is to be used by fishing vessels. The destruction will be solely to prevent the re-fortification of the island.

The reply states that no concessions to the interests of former German colonies and Germany outside of Europe. It is declared that allied and associated governments cannot "again abandon thirteen million or fourteen million persons to a fate from which the war has delivered them."

Abuses which have attended German colonial civilization are said to have been admitted by German leaders and it is felt necessary to guard the security of the colonies and to guard the peace of the world against a military imperialism which sought to establish a territory should bear part of the public debt of the ceding state and pay for the public property, as it is intended that France should receive these provinces without prejudice.

Exports Only Partly Colonial

The loss of the colonies will not hinder Germany's normal economic development, it is declared, it being asserted that in 1915 only one-half per cent of Germany's exports and one-half per cent of her imports was with her own colonies. It is stated that a very small proportion of the excess German population would go to the German colonies. The principles of private rights will apply to railroads and mines if Germany can prove their private ownership, with the exception of the case of Kiao-Chau.

The natives of the colonies which will be administered under mandatory will not bear any part of the German debt and the Allies reserve full liberty to determine the conditions under which the colonies will be administered in colonial regions. They ask that Germany agree in advance to humanitarian conventions as to the traffic in arms, spirits and the like.

Reduction of Military Force

The military terms were not drawn solely with a view of making it possible for Germany to resume her policy

"The interests of the inhabitants have, however, been most scrupulously safeguarded. They will live for the first time since their forcible annexation to Prussia and Bavaria under a government of independence justly derived more than a century ago. This was one of the greatest wrongs of which history has a record, the memory and the result of which has for long poisoned the political life of a large part of Europe and which was one of the essential steps by which the military power of Prussia was built up and the whole political life, first of Prussia and then of Germany, perverted."

A second principle governing the action of the Allied powers is that there shall be included in the restored Poland all those districts inhabited by an indisputably Polish population. Dead with Posen and West Prussia, the detailed reply says:

"These two provinces, which were predominantly Polish when the partition took place, might have been restored to Poland in their entirety, according to the strict law of historic retribution, but instead there has been left to Germany, in an effort to avoid even the appearance of injustice, and despite Germany's brutal colonization policy, all those districts in the west in which there is an undisputed German predominance contiguous to Germany. Nevertheless, the frontiers have been carefully reconsidered, and certain modifications made in detail. In particular the historical frontier between Pomerania and West Prussia is to be re-established."

East Prussia Not German

East Prussia—Germany's refusal to accept the separation of East Prussia from the rest of Germany is met by the statement that East Prussia was so separated for many hundreds of years, has been always recognized in Germany as a German colony and not as an original German land. It was not actually included in the political frontiers of Germany until 1806, it is said. It is pointed out that Germany's objection to the holding of a plebiscite in certain parts of East Prussia causes surprise, especially when she admits doubt as to the nationality of the inhabitants and professes assent to the principle of self-determination.

Danzig—The provisions as to Danzig stipulate that the city is to resume the character it held for many centuries when, as a Hanseatic city, it lay outside the frontiers of Germany. As the

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population is predominantly German, the city will not be incorporated in Poland, but it is essential that there should be a close connection between them, and that Poland should have the sole seaport available to her kept free from all foreign domination.

Memel—The reply states that the cession of Memel does not conflict with the principle of nationality, for, while the city itself is in a large part German, the district as a whole has always been Lithuanian.

Plebiscite for Upper Silesia

Upper Silesia—While Upper Silesia was not formerly part of the kingdom of Poland, the majority of its population is Polish in origin and speech. In deference to the German claim, however, the territory shall be immediately ceded to Poland, but a plebiscite shall be held in order to meet any further criticism. The liquidation of German property there is to be safeguarded and Germany will be allowed to purchase for a neutral price the coal, on the same terms as the Poles, for transferring to Poland are to be protected as to language, religion and education.

Insist Upon Naval Terms

The naval terms, while leaving Germany adequate naval forces for protection and police duty must, the reply states, be accepted unconditionally, the details to be worked out by the naval commission after the peace treaty is signed. No financial measures are contemplated as regards the surrender of the warships, which must be unconditional.

TERMS AT WEIMAR: TEUTONS DEPRESSED

Weimar, June 17.—(By A. P.)—The news of the allied terms reached here late last night and the first apparent effect upon the German leaders who remained away to wait for the terms, was that of depression. A report passed rapidly through the old castle where the government heads are residing temporarily, that the signing of the peace terms by Germany was highly improbable. No one would talk for publication, but every official and every member of the foreign office available expressed the deepest pessimism and resentment at the alleged cruelty of the terms. The Germans were especially embittered over a report that a French mob had stoned the helpless German delegates at Versailles.

Principles to Be Followed

The other parts of the detailed reply deal with the principles to be followed in determining the eastern frontiers of Germany and concerning Luxembourg, Austria and Russia. It is stated that the Polish state, that the German observations regarding Luxembourg require no answer, because of Germany's violation of her neutrality and the denunciation of the eastern union. None of the German contentions with regard to Russia are considered to require a change in the treaty.

With regard to the Saar region, the reply says no alteration is permissible in the terms provided.

"The Allied and associated powers," it is stated, "have sought to impose for the destruction of the mines of northern France a form of reparation which by its execution will bring about a definite and visible symbol. At the same time they intend, by assuring themselves of the immediate possession of the actual security, to escape the risks to which the German memoir itself has drawn attention."

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of military aggression, but also as the first step toward the general limitation of armaments. As the colossal growth in armaments in the last few decades was, it is asserted, forced upon Europe by Germany, it is right, the reply declares, that the process of limitation should begin with her. The armies are to be reduced, in the interest of general peace and the welfare of the German people, to allow Germany to reduce her army more gradually than stipulated in the original draft of the treaty.

Within three months she must have reduced her army to a maximum of 200,000 men, and at the end of that time to allow allied military experts to fix her military strength for the succeeding three months, the object being to reach the 100,000 stipulated in the original treaty as soon as possible and at least by March 31, 1920.

Fortresses situated in the neutral zone east of the Rhine not occupied by the powers will be dismantled in six months and those in occupied territory will be dismantled when ordered by the allied high command.

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Germany will sign the treaty on the fact that they have knowledge that at yesterday's meeting of the Council of Four a complete agreement was reached on the consequences which would follow Germany's refusal of the peace proffered. They were aware, the delegate pointed out, that peace would then be imposed by force in accordance with President Wilson's Baltimore speech, and that orders had been given for an allied force of 600,000 men, supported by heavy artillery of hitherto unrevealed power, to begin an advance on the morning of June 24.

Paris, June 17.—The Council of Ten of the peace conference received the Turkish peace mission in the clock room of the Quai D'Orsay this morning. The Turkish delegation, headed by Damad Ferid Pasha, the Grand Vizier, motored from Vauceson accompanied by French officers.

In his address to the councillors the Turkish grand vizier pleaded that the Turkish people were not to blame for the war. He urged that the empire be permitted to remain intact in both

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